



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

IV.—THE TRIAL OF SAINT EUGENIA.

Although the relations of Christian legends to pagan myths and secular fiction engage the interest of a growing number of classical scholars, one of the most interesting and romantic legends of the saints, the story of Eugenia, has not yet, to my knowledge, been brought into connection with a secular story which is its nearest of kin. In this paper it is proposed to set forth this relationship, to discuss certain other stories which are possibly akin, and to consider the origin of some peculiar features of the stories in question.

An outline of the legend of St. Eugenia may be given as follows: In the reign of Commodus a certain Philip was sent from Rome to Alexandria to serve as prefect of that city. He was accompanied by his wife Claudia, his two sons, and his daughter Eugenia. Of Eugenia we are told that she was educated in all the learning of the period, and that she was very beautiful. On reaching womanhood she was sought in marriage by Aquilius, the son of a consul. But she refused the suitor, declaring that her husband should be chosen for his character and not for his high birth. Shortly after this time, the legend relates, some works of the Apostle Paul fell into the hands of the young Eugenia, and she conceived a deep interest in the teachings of Christianity.

At this time Christians were allowed to dwell in the suburbs of Alexandria, though not permitted within the city itself. Desiring to learn more of the new doctrine, Eugenia sought and obtained permission from her parents to visit a rural villa belonging to the family. She set forth upon the journey in the style becoming a young woman of rank; numerous servants attended her, and she was carried in a litter. On the road she heard a band of Christians singing their sacred songs and praising God. The circumstance increased her interest in the Christian doctrine, and she was even then a convert at heart. So she took her two servants, Protus and Hyacinthus, into her confidence, cut off her hair, assumed the dress of a man, and with their assistance contrived to leave the litter secretly at a con-

venient halting-place. The litter, attended by the other servants, went on its way. Meanwhile Eugenia with Protus and Hyacinthus proceeded in a different direction to a gathering of Christians. There she met the celebrated bishop Helenus, who confirmed her in the faith and admitted her to a monastery, which she entered as a man, calling herself Eugenius. In the meantime her absence from the litter had been discovered, and after a vain search her parents mourned her as lost.

In the monastery Eugenia was distinguished for her piety and lowliness of spirit; so much so that when the presiding abbot died Eugenius, in spite of a refusal prompted by humility, was elected to fill his place. Not long after this time a rich widow of Alexandria, named Melanthia, was cured of an illness by the so-called Abbot Eugenius, who visited her and anointed her with holy oil, refusing the gifts which the grateful woman was eager to lavish upon him. Now Melanthia had fallen in love with the young and attractive abbot; so not long afterwards she feigned a second illness and summoned Eugenius to her house. She declared her passion with scant delay, but was rebuffed by the young Christian.

Then Melanthia plays the part of Potiphar's wife. Going to the prefect Philip, she lodges an accusation of assault against the Abbot Eugenius. So Eugenia is brought to trial in the presence of a hostile audience, before Philip her father; and finding other arguments of no avail, she defends herself by an unexpected revelation. Tearing her garments open, she proves her sex to the judge and spectators, and then reveals that she is the daughter of the presiding magistrate. So the family is reunited, and all its members are converted to the Christian faith. The father, Philip, soon suffers martyrdom in Alexandria for his adoption of Christianity. The other members of the family return to Rome, and there after a time they also die the death of martyrs for their missionary work among the people of the great city.

This story is found in three versions which agree in all points essential to the narrative: an Armenian version published by F. C. Conybeare in 1896,¹ a Latin version of uncertain date,

¹ The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, and other Monuments of Early Christianity, London, 1896.

to be found in Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*,² and a Greek version in Symeon Metaphrastes' Lives of the Saints, composed in the tenth century.³ Of these Symeon's account is the fullest, chiefly because it is full of rhetorical passages and edifying comment; it adds nothing of value to the substance of the Latin version, which is rightly held to be the older. Conybeare has shown good reason for his belief that the Armenian legend is the oldest of the three. Particularly important is the fact that it refers to the history of Thekla as a holy book, and makes it the model which inspired the conversion and flight of Eugenia. Direct imitations of the Acts of Paul and Thekla are not wanting. But the Latin and Greek versions obliterate all references to Thekla, who had become, as Conybeare says, "a somewhat heretical saint." As we have seen, they represent Eugenia as influenced by the writings of Paul.

The events of the story purport to be of the beginning of the third century, but there are anachronisms, and despite the occurrence of historical names, a definite groundwork of historical fact has not been established. Conybeare places the Armenian version about 275 or 280, and the Latin about 400. In any case, Alcimus Avitus, who was bishop of Vienne at the end of the fifth century, cites Eugenia as a shining example of purity under persecution,⁴ and mentions the essential points of the story; so we may assume that it belongs to the period between 200 and 400, which was very fertile in romantic narratives, both secular and religious.

That the legend was originally written in Greek may be regarded as certain. The Latin version translates a passage in which Eugenia plays upon the name of her false accuser, "O Melanthia, nigredinis nomen, et tenebrosa Melanthia"—a pun which would mean nothing to readers unversed in Greek.⁵ The

² Migne, Patrol. Lat. 73, pp. 605 ff.

³ Migne, Patrol. Gr. 116, pp. 609 ff. I have recently examined the brief life of Eugenia in the Menologion of Basil II (Cod. Vat. Graec. 1613, p. 270) in the beautiful facsimile published by the Vatican. It offers nothing new except the statement that Eugenia declared herself a eunuch when she entered the monastery. The false accusation and the trial are omitted; but the phrase *διαγνωσθεῖσα καὶ ἀναγνωρισθεῖσα Φιλίππῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς* plainly refers to those parts of the legend.

⁴ Patrol. Lat. 59, 378 B.

⁵ Ibid. 73, 614, cf. 612.

same word-play was in the document from which the Armenian version was made.⁶ Another bit of evidence of Greek origin may be detected in Eugenia's use of the word *botri* (*uvae*), a Hellenism which was never firmly established in Latin.⁷

In further analysis of the story the following points are to be noted:

1. Certain features of the legend, especially Eugenia's refusal of marriage, and her flight and disguise, mark it plainly as belonging to a cycle with Encratic tendencies, of which the Acts of Thekla are the earliest representative, and which is continued by the stories of Pelagia, Marina, Margarita and Anthusa. We have seen that the Armenian version of the story of Eugenia acknowledges the legend of Thekla as its prototype. The question of a pagan source for these legends can not be regarded as settled; certainly Usener's attempt to relate Pelagia-Marina to Aphrodite is unsatisfactory.⁸

2. It will probably be conceded by most critics that the martyrdom of Eugenia and her family is a pious addition to the legend, which originally concluded with the scene of recognition and reunion. Conybeare conjectures that "the earliest text went only so far as ch. 19 inclusive (i. e. the death of Philip and the departure of the rest of the family for Rome), for so far only is the narrative fresh and life-like, and free from chronological inconsistencies."

3. When the matter mentioned in the last two paragraphs is eliminated and due allowance made for the religious atmosphere, we find that the residuum peculiar to the Eugenia-legend consists in a slight story which may be expressed in the following formula: A young woman who has been led by some stress of circumstances to adopt male attire is accused of immoral conduct and obliged, in order to establish her innocence, to disclose her sex to her judges.

⁶ Conybeare, p. 173.

⁷ Patrol. Lat. 73, 617.

⁸ *Legenden der Heiligen Pelagia*, Bonn, 1879. Radermacher's *Hippolytus und Thekla* (Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Sitzb. 182[1916]) is not yet accessible to me, and I can form no adequate idea of the work from a review which I have seen. I hope, however, to show in another study that these legends of the Persecuted Virgin have their nearest analogue in a different myth, which has not yet been brought into relation with them.

Obviously we have to do with a novella. In the adventures of Eugenia and the strange scene in which she reveals her sex Boccaccio might have found a congenial subject to turn into a secular tale couched in his sonorous Tuscan. The dramatic possibilities of the legend, especially the recognition scene in which Eugenia is reunited with her family, have not passed unremarked. The great Spanish dramatist Calderón used the story for the plot of his comedy "El José de las Mujeres"—the Female Joseph. A somewhat fanciful treatment of it occurs in one of Gottfried Keller's *Sieben Legenden*.⁹

Now to this novella-like nucleus of the legend of Eugenia there is a counterpart in a little-known story which has come down to us through a single channel—a passage in the *Fabulae* attributed to Hyginus (c. 274, *Quis quid invenerit*). The somewhat bald narrative must be quoted in full:

Antiqui quia obstetrices non habuerunt, unde mulieres verecundia ductae interierant (nam Athenienses caverant ne quis servus aut femina artem medicinam disceret) Agnodice quaedam puella virgo concupivit medicinam discere. quae cum concupisset, demptis capillis habitu virili se Herophilo cuidam tradidit in disciplinam. quae cum artem didicisset et feminam laborantem audisset ab inferiore parte, veniebat ad eam. quae cum credere se nolisset existimans virum esse illa tunica sublata ostendebat se feminam esse: et ita eas curabat. quod cum vidissent medici se ad feminas non admitti Agnodicen accusare coeperunt, quod dicerent eum glabrum esse et corruptorem earum et illas simulare imbecillitatem. quod cum Areopagitae consedisissent Agnodicen damnare coeperunt. quibus Agnodice tunicam allevavit et se ostendit feminam esse. et validius medici accusare coeperunt. quare tum feminae principes ad iudicium convenerunt et dixerunt: vos coniuges non estis sed hostes, quia quae salutem nobis invenit eam damnatis. tunc Athenienses legem emendarunt ut ingenuae artem medicinam discerent.

If we disregard the second attack upon Agnodice by the jealous physicians, after she had made her sex known, we have left a story very like the nucleus of the legend of Eugenia. Nor has it any stronger claim to credit. The statement that the ancients had no midwives is absurd, of course, and there is no doubt that "wise women" treated minor ailments with impunity, especially among women and children; nor do we hear that the need of female physicians was acutely felt among Greek

⁹ I owe this reference to Professor J. W. Scholl.

women. Another proof of the fictitious character of the story is to be discerned in the name Agnodice, which should doubtless be Hagnodice. The name does not appear elsewhere; and in view of its suggestion, "chaste before judgment," we may regard it as coined to fit the story.

One peculiarity of the story of Agnodice demands notice because of its difference from the corresponding detail in the legend of Eugenia. When Eugenia reveals her sex to the prefect, she tears her garment open from above and shows her breasts—an act involving a momentary abandonment of modesty, but not flagrantly indecent. But the gesture of Agnodice is more drastic, as Hyginus' words show. In this unnecessarily immodest act attributed to the heroine of the pagan story we may find a clue to its origin.

In any case it is probable that the Christian recorder of the Eugenia legend has softened a feature of the story which seemed to him too coarse for use in a piece of edifying literature. An exact parallel to this bowdlerizing may be observed in a Celtic myth to which I shall revert later. It is interesting to note that when Calderón came to treat the story of Eugenia in his drama, he toned the traditional form of it down still more. In the scene where his Eugenia defends herself, she is able to establish her identity and prove her innocence by calling upon judge and spectators to compare her features with a portrait of his long-lost daughter which her father, Philip, has kept, and which hangs in the court-room. Evidently Calderón could not expect the austere Spanish court to look with favor upon a faithful representation of the naive legend of the church.

Peculiar as is the dénouement of the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia, the cautious critic may fairly ask whether we need to seek its origin outside of the data of the stories themselves. When the plot of a story represents the heroine as assuming male dress, must not its development bring about complications which may demand for their resolution ocular demonstration of the woman's sex? Obviously this question must be answered in the affirmative; and here the investigation might rest but for that clue to which I have alluded above, namely that in the older story Agnodice escapes from her jeopardy by an unnecessarily immodest act. Perhaps this circumstance can be best explained if we consider the story to have been suggested by a statue or

figure of some sort representing a woman in the act of uncovering her sexual parts. In other words the story of Agnodice and other kindred narratives stand related as *aitia* to works of art of the type described.

That such statues or statuettes existed might be safely assumed even in the absence of apposite archaeological material, for reasons which must be stated as briefly as possible. The magical effect of obscene acts and gestures, as well as obscene words (*αἰσχρολογία*) is now so well known to students of folk-customs as to need no illustration. Symbols and amulets perpetuating such gestures followed as a matter of course. Among the Greeks and Romans there is abundant evidence for the belief in the power of phallos and fascinum not merely to stimulate the reproductive powers of plants and animals, but also to repel evil influences of all kinds. That representations of the female parts and symbols derived from them should have been used in like manner was perhaps to be expected; but certainly the archaeological examples are much less numerous.¹⁰

Greek and Latin authors furnish a good many illustrations of what may be called female sex-magic in connection with agriculture—a form of activity which under primitive conditions of life seems to have belonged particularly to women. Heckenbach has collected evidence bearing upon the subject in his treatise *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis*.¹¹

A striking example of the apotropæic value attributed to the display of a woman's person is found in a myth recorded by Plutarch.¹² Bellerophon, who had aided Iobates, king of Lycia, in driving the Amazons from his country, had been denied his just reward; whereupon, in answer to Bellerophon's prayer, Poseidon sent a great wave to flood the land. When the Lycian men could not prevail upon Bellerophon to stay the threatened destruction, the women drew up their tunics (*ἀνασπράμναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους*) and went to meet the hero, who withdrew abashed, the wave following him. A remarkably close parallel to this

¹⁰ See Jahn in *Berichte der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1855, pp. 79 f.

¹¹ Pp. 51 ff. An example of woman-magic in agriculture which has escaped some European writers on folk-lore is to be found in Schoolcraft's *Oneota*, p. 83, whence Longfellow derived "Blessing the Corn-fields" (*Hiawatha* XIII).

¹² *Mulierum Virtutes*, p. 248 B.

story exists in an incident of the old Irish epic *Táin Bó Cualnge* (The Cattle-Raid of Cooley).¹³ The youthful hero Cuchulain had defeated all of King Conchobar's champions and was calling for another antagonist when a number of women of the court approached him with the same gesture of exposure that the Lycian women had used against Bellerophon; whereupon the followers of Conchobar were able to subdue the confused young warrior. It is worthy of note that in this Irish narrative, as in the legend of Eugenia, an attempt has been made to soften the harshness of a primitive feature of the story. The incident is given above according to the text of the Book of Leinster; in the other texts the women only bare their breasts before the eyes of Cuchulain.

Another curious instance of the act of exposure as an apotropaic gesture is to be found in a Japanese myth recorded in the *Nihongi*, where the "Terrible Female of Heaven" employs it to confuse a hostile divinity.¹⁴ One may add a reference to Rabelais's grotesque story of the Devil of Papefiguière, whom a country woman put to flight in similar fashion.¹⁵

From Herodotus' account of the *πανήγυρις* at Bubastis (II, 60) it appears that the gesture of *ἀνασπρμός* on the part of the women of the region was a regular part of the proceedings. It was associated with *αἰσχρολογία*, and hence may be regarded as apotropaic in original intention.¹⁶ The interpretation is less certain in Diodorus' account of the acts of the women who attended the new Apis (I, 85, 3). Here also the exposure may have been meant to drive away hostile influences from the presence of the god; but it is at least possible that the purpose of the women may have been to subject their persons to the fertilizing influence of the divinity.¹⁷ Naturally enough the ges-

¹³ J. Dunn's translation, London, 1914, pp. 76 f.

¹⁴ *Nihongi*, translated by W. G. Aston, in *Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, Supplem. I (1896), p. 77.

¹⁵ *Pantagruel* IV, 47. The story was borrowed from Rabelais by La Fontaine, *Contes*, pt. IV, 5.

¹⁶ Similar indecencies in connection with unspecified religious rites are alluded to in a scholium on Lucian *Peregr.* 13 (Rabe, p. 219, 19).

¹⁷ A missionary who has worked for many years in India reported to me that he once saw a young woman of high caste (Rajput) and noble and scrupulously modest bearing open her garments from neck to ankle, and stand for a few moments in prayer before a *lingam* beside the tank

ture of exposure is sometimes recorded as a mere insult, even where the student may conjecture that an apotropaic purpose was originally present. Hence the stories about the posture in which the Spartan and Persian women received their coward sons.¹⁸ A curious modern instance appears in a story told about the famous Caterina Sforza, the fighting countess of Forlì.¹⁹

Probably akin in origin to such stories as those of Bellephophon and Cuchulain, though less crudely expressed, are certain modern tales in which a beautiful princess confuses or defeats an opponent, whether in a contest of strength or a battle of wits, by unveiling her charms. So, in the Persian story of Calaf and Turandot, Turandot confuses Calaf by unveiling her face just as he is about to answer the last of her riddles;²⁰ in an Avaric tale a princess bares her breast to her antagonist and so overcomes him in wrestling.²¹

The rôle that the gesture of exposure on the part of a woman has played in legend and custom has now been fully demonstrated. It remains to consider briefly its representation in the arts. In searching for an art-type which could have given rise to such a story as that of Agnodice one must begin with certain eliminations. For example, the crude early unclothed figurines which are thought to represent the Oriental Aphrodite belong elsewhere, and so also do certain apotropaic amulets of a much later period, representing nude female figures in obscene postures;²² for such a story as that of Agnodice could relate only to a clothed or partly clothed figure. The Orphic story of Bau-

where she had performed her ablutions. In this case the petition was doubtless for children.

¹⁸ Plut. Lacaen. Apophth., p. 241 B, *Mulierum Virt.*, p. 246 A; Justin, I, 6, 14. The original intent may have been to exorcise the demons of fear, as Reinach remarks in the article cited below.

¹⁹ Lud. Guicciardini, *Hore di Recreatione*, chapter-heading *Consiglio feminino esser talhora di gran valore*.

²⁰ Pétis de la Croix, *Les Mille et Un Jours* (ed. of 1785 in *Le Cabinet des Fées*, vol. 14, pp. 227 ff.).

²¹ Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, *Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy*, series 7, vol. XIX, 6, p. 67. There is a somewhat similar episode in the *Thousand and One Nights* (Night 47).

²² Cf. Perdrizet, *Bronzes Grecs de la Collection Fouquet*, p. 43.

bo, as Reinach has shown,²³ gives evidence for the apotropaeic gesture of *ἀναστυμός*, but the plastic representation of Baubo appears to be limited to some monstrous grotesques which have nothing to do here.²⁴

There are, however, certain figures of Graeco-Egyptian workmanship which seem to provide the archaeological *point d'appui*. In H. B. Walters's Catalogue of Terra Cottas in the British Museum there is described and figured an "hieratic or orientalizing type" of Aphrodite from Naucratis, which has the tunic drawn up in front and the sexual parts exposed.²⁵ In this case the attributes, particularly the headdress, force us to interpret the figure as a goddess or at least a priestess; but there is no reason to suppose that these paraphernalia appeared in all such figures. Another example, probably like that in the British Museum, belonged to the Collection Fouquet, and has not been published, so far as I know. M. Perdrizet refers to it as "Aphrodite ou une hiérodoule faisant le geste de l'*ἀνάστυμμα*" (*ἀναστυμός*?).²⁶ Even for the milder gesture of baring the breast there are archaeological parallels of some interest in some small Graeco-Egyptian figures of women seated, with hands raised and breast uncovered. They are regarded as mourners by Schreiber, who has discussed them and supplied illustrations.²⁷

The Egyptian provenance of these figures seems to acquire a certain significance when viewed in connection with the literary evidence surveyed above. Two different authorities attest the occurrence of the gesture of *ἀναστυμός* in connection with Egyptian custom and ritual. The story of Agnodice has a certain connection with Egypt, although the scene of her trial is laid in Athens; for the heroine is said to have studied under Hero-

²³ Le Rire Rituel, in Cultes, Mythes et Religions, IV, pp. 115 ff. To this admirable article I owe several important references.

²⁴ Cf. Diels, Arcana Cerealia, in *Miscellanea dedicata al Prof. A. Salinas* (Palermo, 1907), pp. 3-14.

²⁵ P. 250, No. C 575, fig. 49.

²⁶ Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Female figures in the same posture were represented on churches in western Europe, and are known to Celtic antiquaries as Sheila-na-Gig. Certain gaps in our library prevent my giving references to first-hand authorities. See, however, Hartland in Hastings's Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 817.

²⁷ Schreiber in *Miscellanea Salinas*, p. 212.

philus of Alexandria,²⁸ and the story comes down to us in a work which is undoubtedly a product of Alexandrian learning. The story of Eugenia up to her reunion with her family is entirely Alexandrian in its setting. It is probable, then, that the primitive novella which may be discerned beneath the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia should be regarded as of Graeco-Egyptian origin, unless an earlier example presents itself elsewhere.

The reader who has followed the discussion thus far may have wondered at the omission of a story which bears a certain resemblance to some that are treated above. That is the story, given apparently on the authority of Hermippus of Alexandria,²⁹ to the effect that when the notorious Phryne was on trial for impiety, Hyperides, her advocate and lover, tore open her tunic and bared her breasts to the eyes of the judges, and successfully appealed to them not to condemn the priestess and servant of Aphrodite. According to another version, it was Phryne herself, unprompted by an advocate, who thus played upon the emotions of the judges. The anecdote is of very doubtful authenticity.³⁰

It may be regarded simply as a cynical narrative illustrating the power of beauty and the weakness of judges, and needing no genetic investigation. On the other hand, in spite of the utter oppositeness of the characters of Phryne on the one hand and Agnodice and Eugenia on the other, there is a point of contact in the stories told about them; for in all three cases the heroine's acquittal is brought about by a sudden disclosure of her body to the view of the judges. Furthermore, if the story of Hyperides' trick was recorded by Hermippus, it may be of Alexandrian origin, and must be of earlier date than the other two stories, since Hermippus flourished about 200 B. C. Whether it is directly related to the Agnodice-Eugenia novella must remain doubtful. Its *ethos* is fairly comparable to that of the story of Turandot, which has been mentioned above, and which may have a longer history than we know.

An attempt has been made by Karl Fries to connect the anecdote

²⁸ I see no sufficient reason for treating *Herophilo* in the text as a general term (= *medico*), as Schmidt suggests.

²⁹ In Athen. XIII, p. 590 E; cf. Hyperides, fr. 178 Blass.

³⁰ Cf. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*², III, 2, p. 5.

dote about Phryne with the story of Susanna.³¹ He points out that Susanna, although represented as a virtuous matron, stands alone at her trial: her husband and kinsmen do not aid her. Hence he infers that the prototype of the story represented her as single. In the emphasis laid upon her beauty and upon the circumstance that she is unveiled before the judges he finds another parallel to the trial of Phryne, in spite of the fact that the unveiling of Susanna is described as an outrage on the part of the elders. Combining the two stories, Fries would trace their origin to the cult of a goddess of the type of Ishtar and Aphrodite—a divinity whose mystic veil it was dangerous to lift. The argument is ingenious rather than convincing, and I see no reason to bring the story of Susanna into connection with the others examined in this paper. Such a connection, it is true, would become more plausible if the Graeco-Alexandrian origin of the History of Susanna were fully established; but upon this point opinions differ, and competent authorities, such as Charles and Oesterley, hold that the book was composed in the Hebrew language and set down in Jerusalem, or at least in Palestine. The unveiling of Susanna, however rudely performed, seems to be adequately accounted for by the Jewish regulations concerning the trial of an adulterous woman.³²

CAMPBELL BONNER.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

³¹ *Oriental. Literaturzeitung*, XIII, pp. 337 ff. Fries does not mention the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia.

³² Numbers V, 18, and Tractate Sota I, 5 (*Babylonischer Talmud* übersetzt von A. Wünsche, II, 1, p. 248); *Midrasch Bemidbar Rabba* (Wünsche), p. 183.